

Islamization under General Zia Al-Ḥaq (1977-1988): An Analysis

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ABSTRACT

As a result of the political crisis in Pakistan, the Martial Law regime of General Zia Al-Haq came into power on July 5, 1977. The process of Islamization was given a new boost during the period of Zia Al-Haq 1977-1988. He launched a comprehensive scheme to eradicate non-Islamic practices in Pakistani state and society. His Islamization program contemplated significant reforms in the legal-constitutional, socio-economic and educational institutions of Pakistan. The principles of Zakāt -‘Ushr ordinance, Islamic Ḥudūd and Penal code were introduced in the country. To Islamizing the economy Ribā abandoning and Profit and Loss sharing accounts in banks were initiated. Besides, he renamed parliament as Majlis Al-Shūrā; the Federal Sharī‘at Court, Sharī‘at Appellate Benches and Sharī‘ah Council were established in the country. Under the umbrella of Nizām-e-Muṣṭafā, social reforms were introduced, through the stressing of sanctity of the Holy month of Ramaḍān, enforcement of the bans on gambling and encouragement of *chadar* for women. Un-Islamic programs were banned on television and radio and news in Arabic was made compulsory. The stated objectives of President Zia’s Islamization policies were to lead Pakistan in the direction of truly Islamic state. However, the critics of his policies considered it a tool for legitimizing and enhancing his political powers in the country.

Keywords: *Islamization, Legal, Political, Socio-Economic, Reforms.*

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Introduction:

After six years of civilian government under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the Pakistan army became once again decided to control the political set up of Pakistan. The regime of General Zia possessed all characteristics of a military dominance on the political setup of Pakistan but in order to retain his power, his administration applied quite different strategy of the application of Sharī'ah in the country. He realized that the Bhutto regime did not fulfill the slogan of his political party, PPP as it failed to provide bread, clothing and shelter (*Roti, Kaprā aur Makān*), which resulted in the protest of Pakistan National Alliances (PNA) with the agenda of Nizām-e-Muṣṭafā that attracted common masses. Keeping in mind the political crisis and demands of people under the slogan of Nizām-e-Muṣṭafā, Zia initiated a policy of Islamization to keep himself in power with the support of religious parties and sentiments of people. A twofold policy was adopted by Zia; firstly to assure the anti-Bhutto elements in society that his administration was serious in the implementation of Sharī'ah in the country which was the long-standing demands of religious political parties and ulama; and secondly to eliminate the influence of PPP and Bhutto from the masses. Under his two-fold strategy he succeeded in getting the support of PNA and religious political parties like Jamāt-e-Islami.⁽¹⁾

In his first address to the Nation, Zia presented his agenda of Islamization in these words: "It proves that Pakistan, which was created in the name of Islam, will continue to survive only if it sticks to Islam. That is why I consider the introduction of Islamic system as an essential prerequisite for the country."⁽²⁾

In November 1977, Zia reconstituted the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) of the 1973 constitution for proposing an inclusive scheme for the application of Sharī'ah. The main objective of CII under the constitution was to forward recommendation to bring the existence laws into conformity with the teaching of Islam as set-out in the Quran and Sunnah. For the first time the representation of Ulama in the CII was insured by Zia regime in 1980 the number was quite substantial.⁽³⁾

Zia also established a permanent Law Commission to review the

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- (1) Abidī, Syed Masūm A, *Social Change and Politics of Religion in Pakistan* (Hawai: University of Hawai Press, 1988), 165-170.
 - (2) Lan Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 251.
 - (3) *Report of the Council of Islamic Ideology* (Islamabad: Government Printing Office, 2006), 11-12.

legal code for bringing it to the needs and of social justice and to make the procedure of courts speedy. Certain other institutions in Pakistan were either established or reconstituted, but the question confronted the government of Zia was how to apply Sharī'ah in the country? A branch of Ulema believed that an Ordinance would be sufficient. Other viewed that Sharī'ah would be applied gradually. Experts in Islamic economics were facing difficulties in the eliminating of interest in banking and the shape of Islamic banking under Sharī'ah. Institutions like CII etc. were looking for ways and means of introducing certain different suggestions to introduce Sharī'ah.⁽¹⁾ After the completion of two years in power, on 10th February 1979, Zia stated:

"It is Allah's beneficences that the present government has been able to fulfill these aspirations of the people. In the short period of one and half years so much work has been done that I am today formally announcing the introduction of the Islamic system in the country".⁽²⁾

The Islamization program of Zia consisted of the legal reforms, the introduction of Islamic Penal Code, economic reforms and the introduction of a new education policy, conforming to the Islamic tenets.⁽³⁾ An attempt has been made in this article to explore the process of Islamization in Pakistan during the regime of President Zia Al-Haq 1977-1988. The impacts of Zia's Islamization policies, on the legal, political, economic and social institutions of Pakistan deserve consideration in this article. The main questions examined in this article such as: What was the Islamization policy of Zia? Did his Islamization program bring positive changes in the socio-economic set-up of the society? How it affected the legal, political, socio-economic and educational arena of Pakistan? And how different actors in the country pursued his policies?

Legal/Constitutional Reforms:

In all of the Islamic reforms contemplated in Pakistan, the legal reforms have been the most visible and extensively implemented in Zia regime. The legal reforms consisted of three types; the structure reforms, those existing in the legal institutions of Pakistan, procedural and the

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- (1) Maudūdī, Abul A'āl. *Islamic Law and Constitution* (Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1983), 93-100.
 - (2) Zia al-Haq, Mohammad, "Address to the Nation", 10th February 1979, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad. Also see Anita M. Weiss, ed. *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in the Modern State* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 11.
 - (3) Government of Pakistan, *Introduction of Islamic Laws* (Islamabad: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1979), 3.

criminal; the Structure reforms were related to evidence and the criminal reforms.⁽¹⁾

On 10th February 1979, President Zia introduced four ordinances collectively called as Hudūd Ordinances, to make necessary revisions and changing to criminal laws of Pakistan. The purpose of Hudūd Ordinance was to bring the legal system of Pakistan closer to the percepts of Islam. Modification was made in the criminal statutes of bearing on *zinā* (adultery) and theft. In keeping with the Islamic intend of the Ordinances, each established distinctions between *Hadd* (limit) and *ta'zīr* (punishment for offenses) both expressly defined in Quran and Sunnah. For example *Hadd* offense of the theft requires the witnesses of two adult males, free from major sin, and witness the theft of property worth than 4.457 grams of gold from the place in which the property was protected.⁽²⁾ The evidentiary requirement, if met, the theft was declared a subject to the amputation of his right hand according to the Hudūd Ordinances, and if not met the requirement, then the accused had to be subjected to sentence under *ta'zīr* and the punishment might include fine or imprisonment.⁽³⁾

The promulgation and implementation of Hudūd Ordinance of Zia had only marginal impact on the criminal law system of Pakistan. Despite widespread assumption and misgivings both in Pakistan and the West that the implementation of Hudūd Ordinance, execution of *Hadd* penalties amputation of hand and stoning to death, would become a routine in Pakistan. Very less cases of penalty had been upheld by Federal Shari'at Court that was overturned by the Supreme Court. By the implementation of by the Hudūd Ordinance, the status of women in Pakistan was very less affected. Similarly the relationship between judicial and political institutions was not altered, nor has it significantly changed the judicial procedures in Pakistan.⁽⁴⁾

President Zia also introduced judicial reforms in the country. Shari'at benches were attached onto the high courts, to hear appeals generated by the implementation of Hudūd Ordinance. In 1978, the regime of Zia established "Shari'at Appellate Benches" to four high courts. Shari'at Appellate Benches jurisdictions were set out to hearing appeals against the Hudūd law convictions, to hear Shari'at petitions. However, such benches

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- (1) Kennedy, Charles H., "Islamization and Legal Reforms in Pakistan, 1977-1988", *Pacific Affairs* 63, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 64.
 - (2) Kennedy, Charles H., "Islamization in Pakistan: Implementation of Hudūd Ordinance", *Asian Survey* 28, no. 3 (March 1988): 307.
 - (3) Kennedy, "Legal Reforms", 64.
 - (4) Kennedy, "Hudūd Ordinance", 315.

were abandoned with the establishment of Federal Shari'at Court.⁽¹⁾ Apart from Federal Shari'at Court, a Shari'ah Council was established, consisted of Ulama to look into the legal and constitutional matters of the state, in order to bring them in accordance to the spirit of Islamic thoughts.

In June 1980, an independent Federal Shari'at Court was established at Centre-Islamabad, to decide cases according to the Islamic laws in accordance with the teaching of the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him).⁽²⁾ The functions of the Federal Shari'at Court were:

- "To examine any law as defined in Article 203-B(c) and decide the question whether or not any law or provision of law is repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam;

- By an amendment to Article 203-D of the Constitution in 1982, the Court was given the powers to act *Suo Moto* where any Law or provision of Law appears to be repugnant to the injunction of Islam.

- To exercise appellate jurisdiction, to hear and decide appeals in *Hudud* cases if the sentence of imprisonment awarded by the trial Court exceeds two years;

- To confirm or pass other appropriate order about any *Hadd* punishment awarded by the trial Court in *Hudud* laws. Until it is so confirmed, no *Hadd* punishment can be executed; and

- To exercise revisional powers to call for any case decided by any Criminal Court under any law in relation to the enforcement of *Hudud*.

For the purpose of its performance of the function of Federal Shari'at Court was provided the power of the civil court under the code of the civil procedure, in the following matters:

- "summoning and enforcing the attendance of any person and examining him on oath

- requiring the discovery and production of any document

- receiving evidence on affidavits and

- Issuing commission for the examination of witnesses or documents."⁽³⁾

The right of appeal against the High Courts and other Lower Courts

(1) Kennedy, "Legal Reforms", 64.

(2) Kennedy, "*Hudud Ordinance*", 308.

(3) Government of Pakistan, *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan* (Islamabad: Government Printing Press, 2002), 106-113.

were allowed to be presented before the Sharī‘at Court for hearing. The Blasphemy laws were strengthened and the punishments of life imprisonment were converted to death sentence. Judicial powers were shifted from civil court to the Federal Sharī‘at Court. The Federal Sharī‘at Court was granted powers of hear appeals against convictions, to entertain Sharī‘at petition and the powers to examine the laws of the country, if repugnant to Islam. By March 1985, almost 27 separate revisions were generated in the constitution of Pakistan, by Federal Sharī‘at Court.⁽¹⁾

Economic Reforms:

To Islamize the economic system of Pakistan, eminent religious scholars were invited to compile laws regarding the Islamic financing. Zakāt (religious tax-obligation for muslims who meet the necessary criteria of wealth) and ‘Ushr (a charge or levy on agricultural produce) ordinance was promulgated on 20th June 1980 that covers Islamic institutions, organization and associations throughout the country. Accordingly, Zakāt was deducted from all bank account of the Muslim population, at annually basis of 2.5 percent on the first day of *Ramaḍān*, (the holy month in Islam for fasting) above the balance of Rs. 3,000. User was charged as 10 percent annually on the yield of agriculture land. At Central, provincial, district and tehsil levels Zakāt committee were established to distribute the funds of Zakāt amongst the orphans, widows, poor and needy people. Shias sects were exempted from the deduction of Zakāt takes from their accounts due to their different religious jurisprudence.⁽²⁾

Zia claimed that his policy of Islamization was the manifestation of a universal Islamic version but in reality it was based on Sunni version of Islamic theology and law and was thus unacceptable to the Shias, "who, buoyed with pride from the Iranian revolution, asserted the validity of their own religious interpretation". Thus the Shias sect, considered the Islamization policy of Zia as a threat to their social position in the state and society of Pakistan. Between 1979 and 1980, the Shias leaders mobilized their followers in opposition to Zia’s Sunni version of Zakāt Ordinance. On July 5, 1980 Islamabad was sieged by Shias protests and compelled the regime of Zia to exempt Shias from Zakāt. S.V.R. Nasr wrote "the Shia protests had, in effect, reduced Zia’s Islamization to ‘Sunnification’,

(1) Kennedy, "Hudūd Ordinance", 308.

(2) Shah, Jamal, "Zia-Ul-Haque and the proliferation of Religion in Pakistan", *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 3, no. 21 (November 2012): 317.

undermining the universal Islamic claims of the entire process." ⁽¹⁾

Ordinances and Laws on Zakāt (poor-due), 'Ushr (tithe), elimination of Ribā (interest/usury) from the banking system, muḍārabah (profit sharing), profit and loss share, and 12 modes of Islamic finance were promulgated with the objective of Islamizing the economic system of Pakistan.⁽²⁾ The Islamic concept of abandoning Ribā was initiated on 1st January 1980, Zia ordered to introduce Profit and Loss Sharing System of Accounts in Banks. Profit and Loss Sharing account holder were to share profit and loss of the bank.

In the economic system of Pakistan, the Islamization policy of Zia has contemplated modification through the introduction of Islamic banking. Interest (Ribā) was eliminated from Banks, has introduced the collection of social welfare tax (Zakāt) from the Sunni Muslims banks accounts, and Islamic land tax ('Ushr) was made mandatory. Apart from these reforms, various institutions were established throughout the country to study Islamic economics.⁽³⁾ The political scheme of Islamizing the economy of Pakistan during Zia period, by the ruling elites of feudal, land-lords, capitalists and both civilian and military bureaucrats, that interpreted Islam as a legalistic ritual and legitimize the socio-religious concept of the medieval has led to illusions, confusions and misconceptions on the intellectual and practical planes.⁽⁴⁾

Social Reforms:

Social reforms were introduced under the umbrella of Nizām-e-Muṣṭafā, through the stressing of sanctity of the Holy month of Ramaḍān, enforcement of the bans on gambling and encouragement of chadar (modest dress) for women.⁽⁵⁾ The Islamization campaign of Zia also targeted Media in Pakistan. Un-Islamic programs were banned on television and radio and news in Arabic was made compulsory. Azan was relayed regularly five times a day on radio and television for prayers times. Female anchors were restricted to cover their heads and pardah according

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- (1) Nasr, S.V. R., "Islam, the State and the Rise of Sectarian Militancy in Pakistan", in Christopher Jaffrelot, ed., *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation* (New Delhi: Manohar Publisher, 2002), 88-89.
 - (2) Ziaul Haque & N. Gardezi, "Islamization of Economy in Pakistan (1977-88): An Essay on the Relationship between Religion and Economics [with Comments]", *The Pakistan Development Review* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 1105.
 - (3) Kennedy, "Legal Reforms", 63.
 - (4) Haque and Gardezi, "Islamization of Economy", 1115.
 - (5) Kennedy, "Legal Reforms", 63.

to Islamic teaching.

To encourage and attract qualified individuals from religious institutions and universities, the status of religious teachers, were raised to that of a commissioned officer, in the armed forces of Pakistan. The numbers of mosques in the country was increased. An ordinance was issued by Zia regime for the sanctity of Ramaḍān, to pay reverence and respect to the holy month. The ordinance forbade public eating and drinking during the month of Ramaḍān and three months of imprisonment and Rs.500 fine were imposed for the violation of the Ramaḍān Ordinance. Along with Nizam-e-Ṣalāt program was introduced by Zia, to ensure the regularity of prayers throughout the country.

The concept of *Chadar aur Chaar Devari* (the veil and the four walls) was introduced which was applied to women. Accordingly, a woman could be lashed for adultery. In the case of rape, four witnesses were required to be produced; otherwise the case would be dealt as adultery. The Law of Evidence was introduced, and a testimony of two women was considered as equal to the testimony of one man. Women activists like, a body of urban-educated women in Pakistan, the Women Action Forum, protested against the Law of Evidence of Zia's regime, came out on streets in 1983, and generated world-wide concern. The protest was a historic event because it was brought out by hundreds of women to challenge the religious law of the radical regime of General Zia. They objected the Law of Evidence which gave unequal weight to the women to the testimony in crime and financial cases. The law was considered as anti-women that provided for half witness of woman to that of a man. They argued that the Zia polices of Islamization undermined the principle of justice, democracy and fundamental rights of women and rejected the conservative interpretation of Zia policies.⁽¹⁾

To modify the political and constitutional setup of Pakistan in accordance to the Islamization policy, Majlis-i-Shūrā was set up by General Zia in 1980. It was declared the Islamic Parliament of Pakistan that acted in place of the National Assembly. The Office of the Ombudsman was established to ratify the misadministration of the federal government along with other agencies, offices and institutions.

Educational Reforms:

Educational Reforms were also introduced in the country which

(1) Al-Hassan, Taimur, "The Performance of Press during Women Movement in Pakistan", *South Asian Studies* 25, no. 2 (July-December 2010): 314-318.

leading to the establishment of new institutions i.e. the establishment of International Islamic University in Islamabad, Sharī'ah Training Institute, and various other ulama training institutions were established. Syllabi and Curricula were modified by enhancing the importance of Arabic language and Islamic Studies and redrafting the textbooks to integrate an Islamic approach to pedagogy. Beside Arabic, the subject of Islamic Studies was declared a compulsory subject for all graduate programs i.e. B.A., B.Sc., M.B.B.S., Commerce, Engineering, Law etc. Extra marks were granted to Hafiz-e-Quran for professional studies.⁽¹⁾ The syllabus of History was revised to begin with the Arab conquest of Sind and "omitted the pre-Islamic period of the Indian history". He banned students unions at colleges and universities and progressive student's organizations were left under the mercy of Ismali Jamiat-e-Tulba, the organized student wing of Jamat-e-Islami. In the words of Masood Akhtar Zahid President Zia "used education as a foil and as an instrument of state control."⁽²⁾

Islamization: Relevant Actors and Opponents:

There were four groups of relevant actors, involved in the implementation or non-implementation of the Zia Islamization (Nizām-e-Muṣṭafā) in Pakistan. The motives and interests of those relevant groups were different from each other. First group was General Zia Al-Haq and his political advisors, who were involved in the publicizing of Islamization policies with fairly consistent strength throughout the regime.⁽³⁾ Second group was the senior judicial and officials of the civil administration who were involved in the administration of General Zia Islamization process. Mostly these bureaucrats had reservation of Zia policies but few of them were entrust with the implementation process of Zia reforms. Third group was the political opponents of Zia Islamization policies. Fourth group was the Islam-pasand, who advocated strongly the implementation of Zia Nizām-e-Muṣṭafā policies.

Pakistan came into being with the demands of Muslim nationalists for the creation of a Muslim state, that would provide ways and means for the Muslim of the sub-continent to order their lives in accordance with the principles and teaching of Islam. However, after the inception of Pakistan, a Muslim majority country, the political elites of Pakistan remained always confused about the place of Islam in the political structure of the country.

(1) Kennedy, "Legal Reforms", 63.

(2) Zahid, Masood Akhtar, "Dictatorship in Pakistan: A Study of the Zia Era (1977-88)", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* 32, no. 1 (2011): 16-17.

(3) Kennedy, "Legal Reforms", 71.

Besides military regimes, the politicians of Pakistan too used Islam as a base for their politics. For example the most secular minded politician, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto termed his economic reforms with the name of "Islamic socialism" and the agenda of PPP was promulgated as "Islam is our ideology, socialism our economy, and democracy our politics." In similar way General Zia Al-Haq used Islam as a method for achieving his objective of legitimizing his military regime. The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan had provided an opportunity for the military regime of Zia, to legitimize his rule. Apart from providing support to the Afghan Mujāhidīn, the Zia regime introduced the culture of Jihad in Pakistani society. He initiated the process of Islamization in Pakistan with the objectives, to legitimize and to prolong his regime.⁽¹⁾ In this regard in the word of Charles H. Kennedy, Zia's "Nizam-e-Mustafa can be viewed as a policy designed in part to provide an Islamic justification for the continuation of a military-dominated regime." ⁽²⁾

General Zia's policy of Islamization carries important international implications. His regime succeeded to get benefits from the gulf countries and particularly the Saudi Arabia, where millions of Pakistani workers employed and send back earning to its country. Pakistan also became an important member of the Muslim Ummah and a crucial member of the OIC (Organization of Islamic Conferences). Beside Pakistan too emerged a major center of intellectual activity pertaining to Islam at the regional and global level.

The Jurists and Bureaucrats were center to the implementation of Islamization policies of General Zia. Both jurists and bureaucrats remained political loyal to the President Zia, and were predisposed to resist change. They were highly western educated, politically neutral servants of the state and were vitally concerned with the maintaining stability and order. However, in term of the ideological disposition towards Islam they were "Islamic moderates", and thus congenial to those policies persuaded by Zia.⁽³⁾ Zia's Islamization policies have two political opponents in Pakistan. First were the Secular Political Opponents who argues that Zia policies went too far and second, were Islam-pasand who argued that it policies did not go far enough.

Secular Political Opponents attacked President Zia Nizām-e-Muṣṭafā and Islamization polices from several directions i.e. the human rights

(1) Shah, "Proliferation of Religion", 310.

(2) Kennedy, "Legal Reforms", 72.

(3) Ibid, 73.

argument, misogyny arguments, the reactionary argument, the undemocratic argument, the anti-minority argument, and the anti-rational argument. With human rights argument, the secular political opponents considered that the punishment like stoning to death, whipping and amputation, were violated the under Ḥudūd ordinance of Zia, had violated human rights and argued such punishment as cruel and barbarism. The misogyny opponent argued that Islamization discriminate against the rights of women. The reactionary argument labeled the Islamization of Zia an attempt to set back Pakistan 1400 years to the time of Caliphs. The undemocratic argument holds that Zia Nizām-e-Muṣṭafā policies were designed to lend support for a dictatorship in Pakistan against a democratic setup. His policies had banned political parties and oppressed the political opponents.

The anti-minority argument, considered Islamization of Zia, dominated by Sunni Hanafi fiqa and considered it as anti-Shia. It was assumed a discriminated act against the non-Muslim in the country, particularly Ahmadiyes and Christians. The anti-rational argument, considered that Zia Islamization policies were opposed to westernization and modernity and thus was labeled as obscurantist.

The liberal and secular political opponents of General Zia policies of Islamization usually combined these arguments. For example Benazir Bhutto opposition to Ḥudūd Ordinance was reported in the daily Muslim on February 12, 1988, where she charged it as reactionary, anti-democratic, anti-female and barbaric. She added that "the Zia-Juenjo regime is involved in making stoning to death and public hangings a spectator sport."⁽¹⁾ Pakistani media was controlled by military regime of General Zia and was not allowed to openly criticize his Islamization policies. The government too did not choose to contest over-statements in the news media. However, in western media certain reports were published in the New York Time and the Guardian that stressed the extreme nature of Zia and labeled it as "fundamentalist Islam".

The Islam-pasand groups in Pakistani society were not happy on the implementation process of the Islamization policies of Zia. Sentiments were warranted that Zia policies did not go far enough. However, such groups constituted a small numbers in various institutions that administered the Islamization process. Bureaucracy and courts were dominated by Islamic moderates where the Islam-pasand views were often dismissed as extremists.⁽¹⁾

(1) Kennedy, "Legal Reforms", 74.

(1) Ibid, 75.

The political opponents of Zia's regime did not whole-heartedly accept the Islamization policies or Nizām-e-Muṣṭafā. Benazir Bhutto, the leader of PPP (Pakistan's People Party), had campaigned persistently against the Zia's Islamization policies. The Zia regime did little to counter such charges, and adopted a policy of restraint, and instructed various institutions not to enter into public debates with the opposition on themes to his Islamization policy and reforms. This gave a free rein to Benazir and her party PPP, to exploit the reactionary nature of Zia policies. The status of women as presented in the Islamization policies of Zia was perceived by Benazir as anti-female which became one of the most visible issues of PPP agenda campaign during the national elections of 1988.⁽²⁾

Criticism:

Islamization was the main policy of General Zia to legalize his authority and longevity of his rule. The right-wing Muslim League, and the Religious parties like Jamat-e-Islami became Zia allies and supported his Islamization policy and helped him to legitimize his authority. At home Zia was usually with Sunni ulama but seldom with the Shias. Particularly the Wahabis, considered Zia as a "godsent" and perceived him a variant of "ulama-friendly medieval monarchs".⁽³⁾ His government started advocating the establishment of religious state on the purely model of theocracy rather than the modern to follow the principle of modern democratic Islamic state.⁽⁴⁾ Being devoted followers of Moudūdī, Zia was soon projected by the orthodox rightists, Jamaat-e-Islami and its student-wing Isami Jamiat-e-Talaba, as the righteous man, godly gift and sincere man.⁽⁵⁾

Zia repeatedly reassured that Pakistan could not survive without Islam and considered Islam system as the *raison d'être* for the establishment of Pakistan. In the words of Roedad Khan, "There have been military coups before, but now, for the first time, a maulvi, a deeply religious person was the head of the state, the head of government and the army chief - a frightening combination". Khan further wrote that Zia was "determined to recreate the Islamic legal and social order which had

(2) Kennedy, "Legal Reforms", 76.

(3) Zahid, "Dictatorship in Pakistan", 9-10.

(4) Rizvi, Hasan Askari, *Military and Politics in Pakistan, 1947-86* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 2000), 251-252.

(5) Ahmed, Mumtaz, "Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia: Jamaat-i-Islami and Tablighi Jamaat", in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., *Fundamentalisms Observed* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 465-470.

originated in the tribal Arabia more than a thousand years earlier."⁽¹⁾ The controversial presidential referendum in 1984 was tricky: as yes vote to Islamization was to be translated a yes vote for confidence in Zia, to remain President of Pakistan for another five years. To remain in power, he had asked for a vote on Islam. He deceived people in the name of religion. He frequently used the slogan of Islam for getting public support.⁽²⁾ Masood Akhtar Zahid wrote:

"Authoritarianism has contributed immensely to democratic disruptions and dysfunctional democracy in Pakistan. Forces impervious to representative democracy and dissent rallied round the most repressive military regime of General Zia Al-Haq which declared democracy opposed to the psyche of the Pakistani people, repeatedly chanted the mantra of a vaguely defined and distorted concept of Islamic democracy, a veiled Islamic dictatorship, and defeated all attempts at egalitarian change."⁽³⁾

Conclusion:

The politicization of the process of Islamization during the regime of Zia has played a very significant role in the political environment of Pakistani state and society. Since the introduction of these Islamic reforms in the legal-constitutional, socio-economic and educational institutions of Pakistan, it remained the focus of political debate in Pakistan during his entire period in Zia government and in the later successive government. His politically motivated Islamization policies saw the worst cases of repression against political parties, civil society and students. His policies of Islamization also targeted women and the Shia sect in Pakistan.

The opponent of the Islamization policy of Zia argued that those reforms were anti-democratic, reactionary and discriminatory to women. General Zia also tried to introduce Shari'ah Law as the law of the country, but the lack of consensus amongst various religious schools and authorities combined with countrywide protest forced him to go back on his decision. Zia wanted to make his country, Pakistan as the fortress of Islam that could play a prominent, honorable and leading role in the Islamic world. The Islamization steps taken by his regime had long-term impacts on the state and the society of Pakistan.

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- (1) Khan, Roedad. *Pakistan, a Dream Gone Sour* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 94.
 - (2) Ahmed, Mughees. "Legitimacy crises in Pakistan: A comparative study of political behavior", *Journal of Pakistan Studies* 12 (Summer 2007): 9.
 - (3) Zahid, "Dictatorship in Pakistan", 1.